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(*b*) TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS

Village Area.	*Clan.*	*Sub-Clan.*	*Population.*	
Zonzon	Minyam	Fakan	227	
Sako	"	"	287	915
Zarkwai	"	"	303	
Bakin Kogi	"	"	48	
Kibori	"	Aswen	281	
Kurmin Masara	"	"	520	
Zaman Awon	"	"	243	
Zaman Dabo	"	"	785	2,687
Magamiya	"	"	480	
Taligram	"	"	226	
Giddan Wuka	"	"	152	
Gora	Agbat	Gbar Kokwak	1,200	1,431
Kurmin Gando	"	" "	231	
Jankassa	"	Kpaisa	1,150	1,557
Magada Kura	"	"	407	
Ungwar Gaya	"	Nje	908	
Fada Tsofua	"	"	467	
Giddan Karo	"	"	226	3,115
Kurmin Dawaki	"	"	409	
Mabushi	"	"	1,105	
Ungwar Zaki	Aku	—	137	
Bakin Kogi ii	"	—	94	962
Kigudu	"	—	132	
Kwaku	"	—	599	
Gora	Shokwa	—	200	

Each of the kindreds composing a clan or sub-clan has a recognized social and religious Chief, the Magaji Elenowum, who is not necessarily (as in the patriarchal family) the oldest member of the kindred, but is the direct descendant of that branch of the kindred which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller of the kindred. He may be, and often is, junior to other members of the kindred, but that does not lessen his authority in his own domain. He is the chief priest and offers sacrifice for the kindred and specifies the dates for funerals and other feasts. All large game killed by a member of the kindred has to be brought to him to be divided as he thinks fit. He is entitled to the heads of all horned animals and was in bygone days the custodian of human skulls taken in war. He is appealed to on all matters of custom, ranks, and seniority. His advice may be disregarded, and he would then declare that he would wash his hands of the kindred and leave them to follow their own new-fangled ideas. But his supposed magical

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612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.

[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

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The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members
769 of the family which may include brothers, cousins, and nephews.
But if, for example, the head of the family has a nephew whose
782 father is dead, why should the nephew not go direct to his father's
596 grave? The answer is that he has a living "father" in the person of his uncle, to whom in the ordinary way he takes his troubles. His wives may have run away, or he may have been unsuccessful in begetting children, or unfortunate in other respects. So he goes to his uncle and says: "I am luckless in all I do; perhaps it is because I have offended you." His uncle will take ashes, touch them with his tongue, spit them out, and say: "You have not offended me." The nephew may then say, "Perhaps it is because of some offence I committed against my father in his lifetime." The uncle would reply, "That may be, but let the matter rest at present." If the nephew is still pursued by ill-luck he would again approach his uncle, who would say, "Very well, I will take you to your father's grave and you can there make your offering."

782 The points to be noted are that if you have a living father
769 you take your trouble to him, and that even if your own father
592 is dead and you have a senior living relative you would not go to your father's grave without reference to him. Other noteworthy points are that neither males nor females make offerings
[562] at the grave of old women, though the death of an old woman is honoured by the same rites that mark the death of an old man. A woman has to make her petition to a dead father through a male. Women, indeed, appear to engage directly in no religious rites at all. The household head is thus the household priest, and the services of the high priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, are not ordinarily required even at harvest time, when each household, through the senior male, offers thanks with the first-fruits at the graves of the ancestors for the yearly
[793] supply of food. But on special occasions the assistance of the priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, is sought. Thus, if things are constantly going wrong in a house recently occupied, the householder may report the matter to the Magaji Elenowum, who may say that the trouble is due to resentment on the part of the ghost of the former householder, either for some neglect during his lifetime or on account of an improper burial. And so the new householder goes to the grave of the former householder and deposits beer and a dish of beniseed, to which some

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727 The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes
728 was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not
● 793 merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all
224 large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

793 The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

527 The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines.
[823] Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European
778 influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was
769 always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting
782 to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

753 *Medicine and Diseases.*—Illnesses and premature death are
754

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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

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any sacred place wearing a gown. The Morwa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab.

The priest plays a prominent part at the installation of the chief. He gives the chief a special draught to drink, and then ceremonially shaves and washes him, afterwards clothing him in a gown. The Morwa chief is, like his neighbours, the possessor of a sacred sword, the magical emblem. At the installation of a new chief the priest fetches the sword from the house of the late chief. It is carefully wrapped up and none may look on it except the priest and chief. The priest slays a goat and chicken (provided by the chief) and rubs the blood (mingled with water) on the sword, saying: "Sword I have brought you here that you may bless us. Let the chief and this town have prosperity and may no evil come, even to a child. For I perform the rites my father performed. Let not the chief die early, and may no sickness overtake him or his wives or his children." On each Friday for the first month or so of his reign, and at intervals throughout each year, the chief summons the priest to bring the sword. They drink some beer together, and then the priest removes some of the wrappings and shows a part of the knife to the chief, saying "Do you see the sword?" The chief replies, "I do and I rejoice." The priest then says, "Sword, let no evil come on the chief or his people or on any of our domestic animals. For I am of the ancient stock of this country, and these are the rites my forefathers performed."

A year after the installation the concluding rites are performed with feasting and sacrifice. The sword again plays a principal part, and the chief is then for the first time clothed in a black gown. Formerly he could only wear a white gown. The sword is a great asset to the chief; for, apart from the security which it confers on the owner, it is also a source of income. The possessors of minor titles believe that an occasional view of the sacred weapon will secure them also in their offices. They are permitted therefore to view the sword on payment of what must be, to them, a considerable sum.

The Morwa were head-hunters like their neighbours, and their rites were similar to those described in the Katab report. They did not take the heads of Katabs whom they killed, but they took their bodies home and buried them, and danced over the grave.

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601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as "Normal Guinea" (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY: LEGAL PROCEDURE

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage "which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller" of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his "supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting "and the preparation of arrow poisons" (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men "sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on" (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Daroro, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area "as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's "patron" at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, "when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, "but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was "the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position "even more unenviable"; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[22] Apart from

[21] Meek's "extended family": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 Meek has analysed the organization of Kachichere Arna. Where secondary marriage is concerned, the Village-area as a whole functions with relation to the Katab tribe much as the smaller Katab clans, Aku and Shokwa, with their fellows; that is, it constitutes the local unit within which its members may not seek secondary wives. Secondary marriages are, however, contracted with "wives obtained from neighbouring tribes," but whether also from Aticherak of Lungu is not known. As regards primary marriage, Aticherak form what appears to be virtually an endogamous community; at Kachichere Arna there are four exogamous units,[41] Ne-Tabin, Ne-Chobiam, Ne-Tiet, and Iningwa-Tiap,[42] those at Lungu are given by Reynolds as Alegahk, Tsoniata, Shoviam (=Chobiam), and Uwatiyap (=Iningwa-Tiap).[43] Primary marriage laws "closely resemble those of the Katab," according to Meek. As among Katab, the widows of a father or grandfather—real or classificatory—are heritable. Meek notes, however, that "every Kachichere child. . . has to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments. . ." The exogamous units are not totemic; all Aticherak of Kachichere Arna, however, "respect" the crocodile and leopard.

613 622 ●793 The civil head of Kachichere Arna Village-area (responsible, like the Katab Village-area heads, directly to the Katuka at Zangon Katab) is a member of Ne-Tabin, and "his 'madaiki' or second-in-command" (duties not indicated) of Ne-Chobiam.[44] Each lineage has its own head (*magajin elenowum*), those of Ne-Tabin and Ne-Chobiam being apparently separate from Village-area head and Madaiki, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, *atun yevwo*.[45] At Lungu, the connections of the hamlet head are not entirely clear; he is, of course, subordinate to the Atsam head of Pari Village-area. The hamlet council, according to Reynolds, consists of the hamlet head and the heads of each group and sub-group of the village.

114 There is no information about the extensive Kachichere community in Jema'a District, of which the obscure Numana peoples, about whom little more than the names and populations of their villages is known, may or may not be part. The names of the scattered hamlets already listed may be to some extent indicative of the socio-political organization: Ungwar Magaji and Ungwar Madaki both probably refer to actual civil titles, but there is no indication to which of the older villages they may appertain, and the significance of the other names is unknown.

101 197 In conclusion, it may be noted that Aticherak of both Kachichere Arna and Lungu appear outwardly to be virtually indistinguishable from their Katab neighbours.[46] Also, according to Meek, the local dialect varies only slightly from standard Katab.

[41] These appear to be lineages since, according to Meek, "the members of each believe themselves to be blood relatives, and . . . they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather. . . ."

[42] The meaning of these (or even the significance of the hyphens) is not stated by Meek. -Tiap, it will be noted, resembles the name the Katab give themselves, *Atyap*.

[43] According to Drummond-Hay (whose information appears to be supported by Reynolds' notes) other Aticherak are located at a village or hamlet, Kingwarang (Dutsin Kimbarang, according to Reynolds) but nothing appears to be known of its present size or structure, so that its population may have been included by Reynolds in his count of the inhabitants of Lungu.

[44] The chief of Kachichere Arna possesses a sword believed by Meek to be of Kajuru origin. The only other information relating to the chieftaincy is Meek's statement that a chief, on his appointment (by whom?), goes "into seclusion for seven days beginning on a Sunday."

[45] Meaning not recorded, but cf. distinctive title of Numana priest-chiefs, *Itwa*.

[46] Aticherak, at least those of Lungu, profess a closer tie with Atsam, claiming voluntarily to have entered Chawai territory; having earlier professed a vital link with Kajuru, they resisted a move by Administration in 1931–2 to place them under the Kajuru hamlet-head, in favour of remaining under the Village-area head of Pari. Yet men of Chawai refuse to take Aticherak wives, since, according to various informants, Aticherak women wear lip-plugs! Meek notes that men of Kachichere Arna take secondary wives from neighbouring tribes, but does not specify whether Atsam is among these.

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622 not a traditional entity." Smith's field data bear out Cole's statement that in 1905 the ritual leaders designated a man of Kamang when the British enquired after a chief. It would appear that the chieftaincy developed in a contact situation, and it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that a man of Kpashan, the "ritually inferior" moiety should have been put forward, when such a move is seen to conform to a pattern to which the well attested exceptions are rare."[73] Smith notes that the chieftaincy has progressed in two generations "from . . . a thing of derision" to "an object of competition," and states that the present chief has developed a 622 system of councils integrated with the clan organization and with the two main 623 groups produced by culture contact, the village chiefs, and the literate young men. Three delegates—the village chief, a village elder, and a literate young man—are selected by each village council, and these delegates meet with the chief every three months to form the tribal council, in which common affairs of interest are discussed and proposals made. Village councils are composed of three similar persons from each clan—the clan head, another elder, and a literate young man—but meet under the village chief more frequently. Proposals accepted by the tribal council are referred back to village councils and, from them, go to the level of clan discussion, the popular feeling being expressed at the next meeting by the delegates, when decisions for action are taken.

361 No detailed information is available on form of settlement, though the implication of all accounts seems to be that compounds and *kwai* are fairly widely scattered, apart from a few concentrations (as at Fadan Kagoro in the vicinity of the railway station): this situation is incident to Administration's dispersal, early in this century, of the hill villages (in all probability, more compact), to the local system of land tenure and to farming methods (shifting cultivation). No Kagoro village to-day is anything like simple in structure: of the villages analysed above only Dussai, Kadarko, Mafok, and Makabun are entirely Ankwei (no village is entirely Kpashan), and each of these constitutes a collection of *kwai*, while the remaining seven villages are structurally complex entities with representatives of both moieties.

621 In general, it appears that one Ankwei *kwai* in each village is recognized by all other *kwai* in the village as ritually paramount:[74] each *kwai* has its own leaders, but 618 the leaders of the paramount (because senior in the area) *kwai* in the past, at least, were the leaders of the village; according to Smith, each village has responded to Administration by casting up a civil or secular chief, whose prestige and authority have steadily grown to some extent at the expense of the power of the priests."[75] At the present time the chief duty of the "community-chief"[76] (title, *agwom*) is "to provide members of the community with land and house-sites for settlement."[77]

621 Similarly, what might be termed a secular territorial unit has emerged to mediate between the *kwai*, as a territorial unit, and the village: this is the ward (Hausa, *ungwa*), a unit which Smith appears to regard as having been defined entirely arbitrarily and by Administration. It would seem that a ward may include within its boundaries several contiguous *kwai* or even lineages, whether or not related, thus cutting across *kwai* boundaries." It is strongly implied, if not stated, that these wards have civil heads.

793 The title of the chief priest of the village is *tienwhop*, to use Smith's ortho-

[73] Cf. footnotes on Warjawa organization in Gwaram (Kano), p. 26, above.

[74] How Kata lineage of Kadau *kwai*, Kpashan moiety, at Fadan Kagoro, shares in Ankwei ritual (see p. 90, above) there is not specified.

[75] No information is available regarding the principle upon which this functionary was originally chosen (especially the moiety from which chosen).

[76] It is surprising that the *agwom* should be a recent innovation in view of Kagoro's tradition of a Plateau origin; among Aten and Birom in their Plateau homeland, *gwom* = priest chief. Data from Kaje tribe, as from Katab, appear to agree with Kagoro in this.

[77] Smith indicates, however, that though in the villages members of a clan may share a clearly defined area, the farms of members of distinct *kwai* are commonly interdigitated, outside the villages. Cf. discussion of wards in Ningi District, p. 15, above.

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graphy, who is apparently particular to the senior *kwai* (and lineage) in each village. On the other hand, the priestly titles of *tenci* (pl.? *tienci*) and *tu* (or *titu*) *obwai* pertain to every *kwai;* of these the *tienci* of a village are graded according to the seniority of their respective *kwai*, and the *tenci* of the *tienwhop's kwai* serves also as the *tenci* of the village; but the *obwai* priests appear to be essentially equals, though the position is not entirely clear. Each lineage of a *kwai* has a titled head (*niewhop*), and these heads, again, are graded according to seniority."[a]

The *tienwhop* appears to be a fertility priest, essentially, and the *tienci*, hunting priests, with a unique reciprocal relationship between the *tienwhop* and the village *tenci*, implied in Smith's account of their functions and dues. According to Smith, the *tienwhop* " performed the ritual (*ti*) for health and prosperity," for which grain was collected from Kpashan only by the senior resident Kpashan clan and given to the *tenci* of the community; the *tenci* was in charge of village hunting (and head-hunting) ritual, but the *tienwhop* received " one hind-leg of every dwarf buffalo slain in the area under his ritual control."[b]

Terminological confusion obscures the role of the *tienwhop* in the village court, but it appears that he presides over " the traditional village court of priests and elders " when the charge is " ritual " offence; otherwise, " the Village Chief " (*agwom*, presumably) exercises a *de facto* jurisdiction within his Village-area, particularly with regard to cases of paternity and secondary marriage. In the past, disputes between lineages were settled by the clan heads (*niewhop* and *tienci*, apparently), and when clans of a village clashed agreement might be reached between the clan heads concerned without mediation; similarly the *tienwhop* " terminated " feuds between villages and wars with neighbouring tribes.

Limited warfare was a condition between lineages, *kwai* (even of the same *bin*) and villages, before Administration. Disputes over economic trees are said to have been frequent. Boundary disputes were formerly among the chief occasions of inter-village fighting, and occurred in a context of mutual hostility, closely associated with wife-abduction, and with sympathetic relations between villages sharing hostility towards the same community. It is noteworthy that moiety affiliation plays no part in inter-community disputes of any kind. Possibly until Administration, disasters afflicting the whole tribe such as locusts, smallpox, etc., were occasions for the assembly of all adult males by the three *tienwhop* of Zafan, Mingio, and Atswan. According to Smith these three are generally conceded by Kagoro to be senior, though there is some disagreement as to which is paramount. It would appear, however, that in the only traditional tribe-wide institution of which any account is available at present, i.e., in the tribal hunting rites, Zafan occupies the supreme position.

Hunting is still an important source of meat as well as of prestige and is an activity of clan groups closely linked with ritual. Rights to hunt in clearly specified areas are the property of the clan of the man who first marked out the area publicly for hunting. With few exceptions these areas lie in the Village-area of the clan, have clearly known boundaries and names, and do not interfere with the rights of other persons to farm in the area. The Rock itself is the common hunting ground of the tribe and no clan hunting areas are found there.

The season is opened annually in January or December by the taking of auguries by the Kumat lineage of Mungwop clan from a sacred cave at the base of the Rock. After prayers and a ritual beer drink the day for starting the hunt is fixed. On the day appointed the *tenci* of Zafan sets fire to the Rock, and this is done by every village at the base in turn. Then all the males of each community move up the Rock behind the fire, shooting the animals. The Rock hunt is followed by

[a] Niewhop (niehwop?), rendered Meakwap by Temple, and translated " high priest." Smith's account of the *niewhop*, his precise rights and duties, and the relationship between the *niewhop* and *tienwhop* of a village is somewhat confusing. Reynolds' analysis of Kaje titles cognate with Kagoro may be examined to some advantage, farther below, p. 108.

[b] It is to be presumed that *tienwhop* and *tenci* of the village are invariably separate persons, but this is not explicitly stated.

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Moroa
Ataka

	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mabuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243), [102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Life Cycle

844 ### *Birth*

According to Temple, a new-born child and its mother are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day, the child is taken outside its mother's hut for the first time, and is named in the presence of the women of the compound; by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl. Elders assemble for the naming of twins, which is delayed until seven days after birth, and is the occasion of a ritual feast.[115]

Initiation

852 794 It has already been indicated that *obwai* (*abwai*) obtains among Kaje: in general initiation into the cult follows the pattern of Katab proper, but Reynolds' exhaustive account of Kaje practices (of which only a brief summary can be given here) reveals details which may clarify certain obscurities in the Katab record.

According to Reynolds it is believed that Suryan (Baimbin tribal section) introduced the *dodo* (*abwai*) into the area, and it has spread to much of the tribe, [346] essentially along the lines of lineage structure. Generally, each minor lineage has a *dodo* hut,[116] but this is dependent on the size of the group and relations between lineages; some may share the same hut. The lineage which first obtained the *dodo* is recognized as the senior group in cult matters of the area, and its *gado abwai* (Magajin dodo) is recognized as senior and may or may not perform the functions of *gado kapiyi* or *atiyinkwap*. Each *dodo* hut has its own *gado abwai*, [193] the post normally passing from father to brother or to eldest son, with three helpers, all with Hausa titles, selected by the *gado abwai*.

The *abwai* is regarded as an invisible spirit, identified by initiates with the [534] wind instrument which provides its "voice."[117] Other disembodied spirit-voices are also associated with the cult; *dodose* associated primarily not with initiation but with memorial rites for a deceased *gado abwai* will be described below.

Reynolds states that there are no special times for entering the cult, provided the "entrance fee"—said to be a number of fowls, a quantity of beer and a goat —is paid. Youths of the group who are old enough will normally enter at the same time, after harvest and before the first sowing. All who enter at the same time are of the same seniority and earlier entrants are, progressively, senior to them.

Initiation begins when the boys are assembled at night in the compound of the *gado abwai*, in a common sleeping hut, where they are told stories of the *abwai* to frighten them and its voice is heard outside. At dawn, when the voice of Riyam (the wife of *abwai*) is heard, they are taken by sponsors into the *dodo* hut. They are beaten, then *gado abwai* and older members gather in the hut; women and children remain outside at a safe distance.

The boys are shown the instrument which produces the voice of *abwai*, and are beaten to prompt them to reveal any knowledge of it which they may have and to betray their informant. At last they are grudgingly shown how to blow upon it and as each does so he is proclaimed a man. They are then shown a decapitated fowl, and are again beaten, and through skilful interrogation led to say that what they see is the body of a man and his severed head. The head of the fowl and some of its blood are placed in a calabash of beer, which is stirred with a knife. Then each youth, holding the knife in his right hand, takes the oath of secrecy. Finally he drinks the calabash of blood and beer. At the conclusion of the oath-taking Riyam "vomits" the initiated youths, and they are flung bodily out of the hut. They are then taken to the bush and, finally, bathe themselves

[115] Cf. Temple's account of Jaba ritual at birth, below, p. 118.

[116] From Reynolds' description it is round, not like the conventional dwelling hut, with a "piece of pottery covered with spikes" on the peak.

[117] It consists of a pod of *Oncoba spinosa*, with the seeds removed and two holes at either end. A white spider's web (or membranous white disc, under which the eggs are sealed for protection) is placed over one end and warmed until it is taut. Another "voice" is made from a piece of bamboo, 4–6 ins. long.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwasa*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

and head-hunting, and no man of the tribe is fully accredited until he has taken a human head; that of a monkey, hartebeeste, or one or two kinds of bok are accepted as a substitute.

Slaves were treated as members of the family, whether they were captured in war or given for four years' service in payment of a debt. The former only were liable to be sold. The average prices given were, for an old woman, 8,000 cowries = 4s.; for an old man, 10,000 cowries = 5s.; for a virgin, 16,000 cowries = 8s.; for a young man, 20,000 cowries = 10s., prices which compare unfavourably with those which horses would command, *i.e.*, 100,000 cowries = 50s., or even bulls, 20,000 cowries = 10s.

It is the duty of the Elders to settle boundaries, but an interloper is only punished, divinely, by failure of crops. Private quarrels are settled by vendetta, and the only crimes for which communal punishment is meted out are those against religion. These are punished by stoning to death—black magic by choking. The high priest, or "Meakwap," is in fact more powerful than the Chief, and it is he who regulates and administers trial by ordeal. It takes the form of a calabash of poison; the innocent vomits and is saved, the guilty dies.

The ordinary form of oath is for a man to hold ashes, or corn, in his hand, and pray either that if he lies he may become as white as the ashes, or be killed by the next corn he eats. They say that in old times they were not so wicked, and observed many laws.

The Kagoro have no theory as to the origin of man, but they have heard of a great flood.

They believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be re-born in the body of a descendant, male or female, when they live once more as ordinary mortals. The ghosts are thought to inhabit the sacred groves and hills, that they have no houses, but retain their voice and appearance, and ride, hunt, and fight as of old. They are always hungry and thirsty, and their descendants offer them food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are constantly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the Elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove, when quantities of gia is drunk.

They are also propitiated when a compound is built on fresh ground. The father of the family first chooses the site and places stones where the granaries are to be, the blood of a fowl is then spilt and leaves of the "nok" tree (for luck), are buried on the chosen spot. The big men come and gia is poured over the site three times, and three incantations are made to invoke the aid of the ancestors and of those dead who might be buried in the vicinity. A drinking bout follows. Likewise when land is first farmed an offering of gia is made and when the corn is